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619 others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring
[197] tribes.

B. CEREMONIAL. A member of a secret society in any of
575 the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one.
609 A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. ORIGIN AND RELIGION. The people of Bella Coola, *Tăl·ĭo*, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created
[771] together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

648 It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

THE CARRIERS

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the
[563] Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola
[180] considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs,
[578] and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and con-
[796] tempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket.

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpiksta* and *X̱inx̱ines*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse.

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity.

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikālamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Si'islalitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Si'iswai·stl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Siqālx̱am*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakaos di Ānō'likwolsaix*,

[4] A Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home when he was a young lad although members of the *kusiut* society (II, chap. 1) sometimes attended to this matter.

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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth.

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership.

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[8] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents; meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him.

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the

[8] In case of sudden death or failure to make a will confusion sometimes occurs.

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428 553 [578] influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[6] None the less, it [614] must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the ancestral family.

463 869 [614] In former days it was customary to create a "remembrancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more influential members of the ancestral family would choose an intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great detail. One informant described how her mother, the last official "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her anus to prevent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation [789] he always spat in her ears to make the words stick. The members of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "remembrancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the [553] names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

578 428 614 553 Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible property in *kusiut* name-prerogatives (II, p. 2). Ancestral

[6] At the present time the same principle governs the disposal of houses and gardens on the reserve.

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner of a designation which came from above in the beginning of time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any person who is not a member of the ancestral family should dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, this practice has become comparatively common. In such cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which he has no right. The presence of the white man alone restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If such names are not returned for several generations quarrels are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family, has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has received the names through aid given to the "last" of the family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically

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establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sınxł*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Q̓omqo·ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat-

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to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface.

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family.

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his short-comings. So, too, for the child or grand-

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431 child of a mixed Bella Coola and slave marriage. As long as
567 such an one maintained a position of importance in the com-
578 munity by the distribution of presents, nothing was said, but
[554] if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was, insulted by having references made to his ancestry. In case of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to such a blot, but if he had atoned for it with presents, references were considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave
554 ancestry was forgotten in course of time if the line was influ-
567 ential, although recollections of the stigma were always carried for at least two or three generations. At the present time the most influential woman in Bella Coola, the one who has given most presents, is the granddaughter of a Smith Inlet slave. This man had lived in Bella Coola for many years and had married another slave, by whom he had a son. The latter became the husband of an influential *Stuix* woman. When she became pregnant, her family secured the liberation of her husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child." One daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned. Her mother's relatives were influential, and her father was
[555] such an expert canoe-maker that he was able to win an honourable position for his daughter by presents of his handicraft. The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of eminence. No one dares insult her by mentioning her ancestry, but everyone knows about it and if her children should fail to hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score. The woman has validated names and myths derived both from her mother and father, without explaining how the Smith Inlet traditions came to Bella Coola.

To sum up, it may be said that the position of slaves in Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, though it depended entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the
[182] community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner, though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate together, tended to break down the unsystematically enforced differences of rank.

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time, he fails in any way to reciprocate the hospitality, he loses his place among his special associates. So, likewise, the Bella Coola who receives present after present, but fails to give any in return gradually receives smaller and smaller gifts and in time loses his social position and influence entirely. As with ourselves, too, there is a disguised feeling of contempt for the *parvenu*, the man who, lacking the traditional dignity attached to one of the names which came from above at the beginning of time, has elevated the fame of a more recent name by ostentatious giving. But in Bella Coola, as with ourselves, success is the great criterion, and the donor finds his influence little impaired by the lack of one of the ancient origin myths. It is dangerous to cite similarities between the social practices of divergent peoples, and this one must not be stretched too far. The pride of a man in being able to incorporate himself in the traditions of his ancestors is lacking with the host at a dinner party, nor does the latter, to any extent, attain the status of chief through his hospitality. Further, a Bella Coola will sometimes endeavour to shame the poverty of a guest by giving him a large present. Unless the recipient is willing to admit his inferiority he must repay this with a still larger gift. The original donor will then vindicate himself by increasing the value of his next gift until a fierce competition ensues. This feature of rivalry in generosity is rare in Bella Coola, and never reached the same proportions that it did among the Kwakiutl.

The following is a good instance of the manner in which a haughty man regards the acceptance of gifts. A Rivers Inlet man married a Calvert Island woman who went to live with her husband. The man's mother, to show her amiable feelings towards the marriage, frequently gave thick slices of boned spring salmon, a great delicacy, to the family of her daughter-in-law. The Calvert Island chief considered these presents an insult to him, as if the Rivers Inlet people thought that he and his people were so poverty-stricken they lived on skin and bones. To avenge this slight he made war on the Rivers Inlet Indians and slew many of them. This attitude of the Calvert

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Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural; one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives were invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents can be further illustrated by the following instance. When

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all that he sits in an enviable spot, irrespective of its location in the house. 554 556*

In precisely the same manner a man may take for himself a seat in the central part of the row behind the fire, but he is laughed at for endeavouring to assume a dignity, unworthily, unless he can validate his position by lavish presents. The Bella Coola are always ready to make fun of a person who fails to maintain his seat. On the death of the occupant of the central position it is taken for granted that whoever inherits his name will assume that location and give the essential presents, but it is not incumbent upon him to do so. He may choose to establish his new name at his old station, beside, instead of behind, the fire. Thus it has come to pass that the seat of the most important chief of a village is often at the side of the house. When all are seated the chiefs may be widely separated, and a parent may have obtained for his son a seat in a better part of the house than his own. But as a rule the chiefs sit in a row at the back of the fire, the most influential one in the middle. There must have been feuds when two men desired to seat themselves in the central position at the same time, but disputes about this were uncommon, because a man's seat was, and still is, primarily regarded as the intangible goods wherewith he is clothed, rather than his right to sit at any particular spot. It is these non-material coverings that enable a man to be bold and assertive in argument or suggestion, in fact to be a chief. A young man may have had conferred on him one of the noblest names, but his influence depends on the value of the goods expended on his behalf, subject of course to the universal characteristic that a man of forceful character may have more influence than his actual position warrants. [424] [428] [622] [424]

Jealous feuds are common when the man who owns the name of the first chief, first ancestor of a village, has duly validated it, but is being eclipsed in the giving of potlatches by a man whose name is of less intrinsic importance. Such a complication recently arose at Kimsquit, and the Bella Coola [578] [682]

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554 ascribe two murders which took place there in 1915 to jealousy
* 556 engendered by rivalry.

A chief who desires to have his son, or other near relative, succeed to his actual seat may validate for him a position at his feet. If several potlatches be given, with distribution of goods for this purpose, it becomes recognized that the son shall take his father's seat. None the less, he will not have his father's influence or prestige unless he can himself continue to give away goods, because the power of a chief rests on this, not on his ancient name or the location of his seat.

553 Further evidence that a man's influence rests less on his
* 556 actual name than on the wealth distributed with reference to it is found in the lack of uniformity in the type of names validated. Those of highest potential importance are the ones brought to the earth by the first-comers, yet in many cases a man prefers to elevate his position with respect to a name of later origin. It is not uncommon for a man to validate several ancestral designations, and choose one of them to be his most important by valuable gifts for the seat which he occupies with respect to it; or in other cases a name of modern origin is selected and elevated. Thus, a certain Bella Coola chief who is the legal owner of the names *Q̈eil* and *Xemlaix*, two of the first people to settle this earth, has based his greatness on the goods expended for a seat with reference to the name *Sädkeläx*, of more modern origin. It is accordingly clear that any Bella Coola can rise to a position of importance, even though he lacks the right to one of the most ancient names. Moreover, some chiefs prefer to validate several names rather than concentrate on one alone.

[622] Furthermore, a powerful chief can create a name. In this case the "power" of the designation rests, not in any supernatural origin, but in the actual wealth distributed. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point. Between 1880 and 1890 a chief was preparing to give a potlatch at which his nephew was to receive a name, when fire destroyed the village with the exception of his house. This added to the value of

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ened by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions.

554 556 622 [183]

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites of a different nature, such as *kusiut* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual.

[177] [434] [431] [535]

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *namiit* chief. *Namiit* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying

[578]

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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
556 he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
622 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright"
[578] in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels inde-
pendent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-
room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not en-
titled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *hamat'sa* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *nuwit* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from obser-
352 vation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
622 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete example. In November, 1913, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
[766] woman and her husband, the children last survivors of an ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral

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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
628 members of the *hesiut* society that none would dare go there.
998 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *ilemqa-is* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauld-
dron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
191 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
532 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
998 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out
the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-
place.

571 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
622 old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
623 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[152] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

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thus been slain about seventy years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted.

WEALTH

Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic interdependence, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this.

In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (*a*) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, pictorially or dramatically, or could be expounded in words; and (*b*) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, unsuited for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native store-keeper once ruefully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away.

A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never

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ability are always seeking to lend goods to those who are planning potlatches or other rites, knowing that the investment is safe and lucrative. 556* [726]

X uses his own discretion as to how much wealth is necessary. He knows how much he owes for presents received on previous occasions, and would not dream of giving a potlatch until able to repay these. Failure to do so would hold him up to the derision of the whole countryside. But he acts upon his own judgment with regard to interest. If he continues to hoard goods until he is able to repay with great increase, he gains prestige from his generous returns, but meanwhile he does not enjoy the distinction which would have followed a smaller affair at an earlier period. Further, there is the uncertainty about how much his wife's family will contribute, though that can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy; in Bella Coola every transaction is made publicly, so each man knows the wealth of his neighbour. The favourite month for a potlatch is October, before the *hauiat* dances, when there is abundance of food. At this season there is plenty of salmon roe, berries, and crabapples, all of which might be ruined by frost. Occasionally, a potlatch takes place after the *hauiat* period, but in that case the only foods available are olachen grease, smoked meat, smoked fish, dried hemlock-bark, and dried berries. If several men in one village decide to give potlatches in the same year there may be rivalry and dispute as to which shall be first. There is no satisfactory method of settling this point. [626] [796] [262] [578]

When all is ready X tells a herald (I, p. 244) to summon his fellow villagers to his house the following day for *nlaxtem*. It is customary for all to accept, but no social obligation is broken should a man or woman fail to do so. [203]

The next morning no one eats in his own house, knowing that free food will be distributed. While his expected guests are adorning themselves by washing and painting, X, aided by his family and others, prepares large quantities of food, borrows boxes, and makes other necessary arrangements. Pre- [802] [426]

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Presently the guests assemble, those who are *sisaok* wearing on their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled, the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners, slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

A number of young ladis, friends or relatives of X, distribute the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a distant friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech, extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

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of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the *sisaok* members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law. 556* 688 628

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on the question: 556* 688

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, operated by men concealed within and carrying passengers; this was a figure which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity. [578] [532] [578] [177] [754]

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone-shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior *sisaok*. [534] [177] [754]

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers. 556*

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form [335]

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without special places, X calls upon some eloquent friend to direct the distribution of the money. This speaker orates how X is carrying out the rites incumbent on his noble and exalted station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength to the name *Qwaqwasila*, for example, X will give away, say $100. He further announces who have contributed this amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in like fashion the sums decided upon for each successive initiate.

Then the total amount is distributed among the guests by the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives everyone the same amount; men sometimes receive more than women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians, so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will use the surplus in making presents to the more influential guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

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The first course is dried cohoe salmon mixed with olachen grease. The fish is first placed in boxes, approximately one to every four persons, though a chief may be honoured by an individual box, and the grease poured over it. As always, any food not consumed is carried away. Failure to do so would be an insult to X. Then round wooden dishes are distributed into which are poured the berries of *Viburnum pauciflorum*. The waiters pour olachen grease over these and the mixture is eaten with wooden spoons. These two foods are invariably the first meal of a potlatch.

If the *siki* of the last guests to arrive has not returned the power given him by the Bella Coola expert, he now stands up and shakes his rattle as a signal that he desires to start his dance. The Bella Coola *siki* also stands up, and the visiting *siki* contorts himself and finally pretends to produce something from his stomach, which he throws across to his colleague. The latter feigns to catch it, cries *hoip* loudly several times, and makes the motions of hurling what he has just received into the room at the back of the house where the initiates are concealed. Then he sits down. Meanwhile the last-to-arrive party of guests have started to beat out the tune of one of the *ɬsaok*[18] songs of their own *siki* who dances in time to it. Then another song is beaten out and another member of the party dances, and so on until all have danced who desire to do so. Each wears his own head-dress and each performs in the manner already described. After the dancing, the members of this party of guests give presents to X and other Bella Coola chiefs. There is no fixed ratio between the value of the gifts and the rank of the recipients, though chiefs receive more than lesser men, and X most of all. These presents are *spuxdjut*, which may be translated as "eagle down-ness," merely a mark of friendship and goodwill. They are not returnable. Goods so received are distributed by X with his other possessions at the potlatch, care being taken not to return them to the donors, which would be insulting.

[18] *Xe-ne* songs (I, p. 217) are sometimes used.

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not returnable by X to his wife's family. A question on this point was regarded as highly amusing. If used for investment-gifts, the presents received in return are given to X, not to his wife's relations.

A speaker, acting on instructions from the brother or other member of X's wife's family, also announces what names, portions of myth-prerogatives, or other privileges she is bestowing on her husband. After that the people disperse, although they are free to re-enter the house, where, during the afternoon, arrangements are being made for the elaborate ceremonial which takes place that night.

Towards dusk the guests reassemble and take their places as before. Part of the goods which X proposes to give away has been brought in, and, aided by members of his family, he busies himself recounting and making final plans for its distribution. As the Bella Coola have no system of writing, accurate division of goods at a potlatch causes considerable difficulty and worry to the donor. A slighted guest will feel aggrieved, and the sacred nature of the rite will have been subjected to insult if arrangements are not satisfactory. The first business is the settlement of debts by X to the members of his own village. He may perhaps have borrowed fifty blankets ten years previously from a certain individual whom he now intends to repay, with foreign guests as witnesses to the transaction. X always endeavours to reimburse with as large a premium as possible, because by so doing he displays his nobility of mind to the assemblage; but if he can restore only the amount borrowed, or the same with a small increase, there will be no trouble such as might occur should he fail to return at least the principal. When the debt has been settled with interest the matter is at an end, for there is no compulsion upon the man who receives the additional sum to repay this with interest in his turn. The amount previously lent, and the occasion, are always publicly announced, so that all are made aware of his generosity with regard to interest.

In Kimsquit it was customary at this stage of the proceed-

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556* [769] [431]

are strictly non-returnable, being regarded as "eagle down,"[a] and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. They validiate and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. They are spoken of as having been shaken off by the deceased as he departed to return to his home above.

If there are many *sisaok* initiates concealed within the back-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, but usually this is reserved for the following night. Unless some of those secluded are going to dance, food is distributed and all disperse. [575] [535]

THE POTLATCH: THIRD DAY

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

During the Day

(1) Distribution of much food, and sometimes of insults to the guests by excessive presents, or by the destruction of valuables. [578]

During the Evening and Night

(2) Dramatic representation of some object connected with X's ancestral myth.

(3) Distribution of presents by X to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted in the potlatch.

(4) Repayments by X of gifts received at previous potlatches.

(5) Giving of presents by X to some of his guests.

(6) Distribution of presents to strengthen X's seat.

(7) Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establiish, seats for a number of young men.

(8) Dancing of the *sisaok* initiates. 556*

(9) Distribution of presents to recompense those who haave assisted the *sisaok* dancers. 575

(10) Distribution of presents to validate the *sisaok* dances and the names thereby acquired by the initiates.

[a] The Bella Coola state that the Kwakiutl term for this is *xoxo* or *goxo*.

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*556 [575] (11) Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the *susaok* initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

*556 ●578 171 All day, food is being distributed in X's house with guests in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X, but he also takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at *kusiut* rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

*556 558 628 It is comparatively common, however, for a chief to shame a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host seats this particular visitor close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon it, to demonstrate "the warmth" and "fineness" of his house. The guest experiences physical discomfort from the extreme heat, and suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance he will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will counter by throwing on more valuables. The contest is continued until the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown between chiefs of the same village. [578]

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426 hence repayment or non-repayment does not affect the standing of the debtor in the community. The giver expects no
*556 return, but should he come to financial straits he would have
[558] no hesitation in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief. He expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute to the expenses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment of a non-ceremonial present concerns the donor and recipient alone, without effect on the status of either in the community. In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no immediate relatives. Sons or other near kinsmen always settle the debts of dead parents out of family pride, but it is considered most improper for the creditors to think about re-
[558] payment. By giving they have shown their power, the question of return is the concern of the family of the deceased recipient.

Very rarely does the donor of a potlatch fail to return his investment presents except through oversight. In spite of every precaution, errors occur, and these are said to be caused either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between
[776] the donor and his guest, hiding the latter, or by *Snuqwalnukaista* stealing away his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes
●[578] to insult a guest, he will give him presents later on, and that ends the matter. But if he does not do so, the slighted man
426 may return the insult, and thus feuds are often generated that
*556 may lead to war between tribes. About 1860 it is said
648 that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet was caused in that way. In the autumn of 1921, a Bella Coola chief insisted on dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, although it was commonly known he did not have the necessary goods for distribution to validate his dance. The hosts waxed sarcastic, taunts were answered by taunts, and only the presence of some white men prevented bloodshed. Relations between the two tribes are still strained as a result of this
[828] incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of insanity, and danced during one of these. According to the

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CHAPTER V

FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH

Heralds—Totem-Poles—Coppers—Professional Prerogatives—A'alk Dances—Miscellaneous Ceremonies

128 *556 THE ritual of the potlatch is so complicated that, in order to present a coherent account of it, it has been necessary to omit entirely some features that occur at many potlatches, and to refer briefly to others. This chapter is devoted to an elaboration of these points, thus avoiding the use of lengthy foot-notes in the preceding chapter.

HERALDS

203 *556 The principal functions of heralds[1] have already been described. They go from house to house inviting the people to assemble for the different ceremonies connected with the potlatch, but that is only one of their many duties. They likewise bear invitations to all types of ceremonies, such as marriages, mourning rites, or *kusiut* dances; in fact, they act as town criers. A person holding any public rite requests one or more heralds to deliver the invitation which is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top.[2]

There are variations, of course, according to the rites to be performed. At a potlatch, the first duty of a herald is to seat the guests in their proper places. This requires not only a good memory, but also considerable tact, since errors with foreign guests cause friction and embarrassment, and diminish the prestige of the whole ceremony. During the actual progress of the rites, a herald must constantly add dignity to the occa-

[574] [628] [578]

[1] Herald, *ā'lk*ᵂ, plural, *wa·lk*ᵂ*a·ts*, not to be confused with *a'a'lk*, the name of a society (I, p. 273).

[2] This order may once have had a ceremonial significance but it has been considered for a long time merely a matter of convenience. When giving presents also, a man follows the same order in his mind and names first the occupants of the bottom house, thus minimizing the danger of overlooking a guest.

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village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is *Qwaixwos*, "Begrimed," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a name, the value of a $30 copper is henceforth $80.

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must bestow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest.

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new

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pended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these media, debts are passed from one individual to another without actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers.

Professional Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's name is his only because his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that designation; a *kusiut* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the property of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one individual on another's rights.

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely

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than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and compositions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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539 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Ălkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Ălkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anokokwäls* was a good place for a ceremony because *Ălkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[11] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Ălkwi* danced
[535] a *nusqwal* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *nusqwal* dance.

In later years, *Ălkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that
[551] by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, *Nuslakwalämi*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Ălkwi*,
[103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tcopinäsl*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tcopinäsl*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'elk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *sisaok*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[12] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[532] [11] These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[12] This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. 1.

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patrons and claiming to possess supernatural powers. In contrast to the *a'alk*, the *kusiut* are well organized and regulated; its members are proud of their powers, and scornful of those who lack the same. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand jealousy between the two. Until relatively recent times, the *a'alk* were numerically stronger, and included some chiefs, whereas the strength of the *kusiut* society depended on the supernatural strength claimed by its members. It is true that individuals occasionally belonged to both, if they happened to possess prerogatives of both kinds, but, as a rule, the *a'alk* were young men and the *kusiut* were older people. This rivalry was formerly so intense that all who were not members of the latter society were often termed *a'alk* irrespective of whether or not they actually possessed dances of that type; Carrier Indians alone were not so designated. During the summer, members of the two societies dwelt amicably together, but during the winter, when dances took place, there were continual bickerings. The *kusiut* constantly endeavoured to impress their rivals with their own prowess; while the *a'alk*, not convinced of the others' power, used to mock them in their songs. This was the usual practice in case of some error in *kusiut* ritual. The *a'alk* frequently disobeyed the orders of the *kusiut* and a number of them once tried to pry up a huge boulder beneath which was the "power" of a certain *kusiut* (II, p. 8). In recent years the *kusiut* society has entirely gained the supremacy, but it is agreed by all Bella Coola that in former years this was by no means the case, and that *a'alk* did not hesitate even to kill one of their rivals.

Miscellaneous Ceremonies

The rites described in this chapter and the one preceding comprise the potlatch of the Bella Coola so far as its details could be learnt. Until the increase of wealth in recent years, the potlatch was rare, and it is unlikely that in any village more than one month in the year was consumed in the

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 425 553 [584] Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour, and always receive presents. At one of these rites X's father, with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's [627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may sometimes be given outright, without thought of their use by the [773] resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River [648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Stálhmx*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-minded and the other members of the ancestral family would [578] strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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585 553 425 if a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name if a boy, and another if a girl, so that henceforth no one can take that title for himself, even though it is not in use. As already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The transmission of names, or the promising of them for children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole marriage rite. Mythology contains instances in which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-grounds as "food" for the use of the relatives of his son- or daughter-in-law, but it is usual merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

581 553 578 425 Since the transference of names, or other prerogatives, is the foundation stone of Bella Coola marriages, it is necessary to digress still further in an attempt to analyse the concepts at the base of the transaction. If the contracting parties are members of different ancestral families, or even of different branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and unpleasantness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires. On one hand is the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going afield; on the other, a wish that they should go afield to show the respect felt for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally members of the ancestral families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closest community of interest. Return marriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will, indeed, be born into the ranks of related ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names not uncommonly try to keep them unjustly. They may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to give them back. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently exact to stipulate what should be done. If the

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name is not returned, the donors may be offended at its being kept; if it is returned, they may be offended that it has not been kept.

The following examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

About 1900 the sister of a man who was middle-aged in 1922 was married to a Bella Coola to whom she was not related. At the wedding, her father being dead, her brother expounded one of the family's origin myths, and she took her husband a name from it. It was said to have been "hauled across," the word used being the same as that signifying the dragging of a heavy timber, suggesting, of course, the importance and dignity of the designation in question. On two later occasions the woman's family gave valuable presents to the man's, thus doing their part to cement the *q!ulax*, the strength which comes to both families by an interchange of presents marking the dignity of marriage, in fact, its basic principle. Unfortunately, there were no children. If the husband had wished to retain these names for his family, he should have arranged a further marriage between one of his own relatives and one of his wife's, to return the value of gifts he had received. He did not do so, and thus lost all legal claim to the designations in question. None the less, he was indignant when his wife's brother duly validated one of these names for himself at a potlatch, as if it had been dormant.

The accompanying diagram-pedigree shows another instance of the same kind. *Smaoux*'s daughter, *Sxulkûnâls*, was married to *Nînîtxamlaix*, and at the wedding her father promised his name for any offspring. No children were born, but *Nînîtxamlaix* illegally used the designation, *Smaoux*, for King George, his son by another wife. This naturally incensed the relatives of the first *Smaoux*, especially as the debt could not be adjusted by the marriage of one of *Nînîtxamlaix*'s daughters to one of their family, since there were no daughters. To make matters worse, King George passed the name to his son, Jack King George, and again there were no daughters to readjust the debt. Finally, Jack King George married *Q!waîut*, a relative of the first *Smaoux*, without the usual lengthy period of engagement, and while she was still concealed for the year that follows puberty. No children resulted, by which part of the debt could have been repaid. Thus, not only did Jack King George violate the customary ideas of decency, but in the course of three generations two women were obtained from the *Smaoux* family without any recompense. Bitter feelings arose, and a few years ago one of the descendants of the first *Smaoux* took the name for himself at a potlatch as if it had been dormant, thus arousing the ire of Jack King George. In 1911

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581 one of his female relatives were murdered at Kimsquit. The slayer was
533 never detected, but most of the Bella Coola believe that it was done by
971 one of Snaxaxa's relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite
sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.
425 It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the
[142] Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ethnocentral family.
When this rule plays, names are usually given outright, and not merely
promised for the use of the future children.

Snaxaxa = ?

Nusiwanalis = *Snaiksalis* = another woman

King George = ?

Jack King George = *Speckel*

516 After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y:
The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father,
and the parents of each participant have expounded parts of
their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant
children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in
each case including those who are associating themselves with
the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of
great worth are given; they are said to be "bed covering" for
Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her
[597] father asks a fluent child to address the assemblage, speak-
ing as though he were Y. He says in effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their
associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding factors of the wedding.
They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and
accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is
[537] only done when a woman is married for the first time.
[537] Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done
today what was done in former times, and what shall be
done in the future."

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two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to more, while the case of *Patlo* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is said that disputes were frequent. *Patlo* endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the same time.

In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of a luxurious woman who had two faithful-minded husbands between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not ostracize the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unexpectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was thus considered most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the exhibitions permit wished to ally his daughter with different unrelated families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group.

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prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their lasting gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their long distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names, or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

(4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children, either here or that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; to lack intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was ransomed, and to devote this assessment to the credit of those less fortunate.

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(c) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most conspicuous boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used.

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(d) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it.

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Mqaoutsa* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yaiwk*, applied to a woman who has many times ransomed herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *sisiutaq*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents.

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As far as could be learnt, the procedure of bestowal is identical with that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

Xnik-alilnimlxix, "The Resident Maker." In the beginning of time the wife of *Taiatwala* had twins so often that the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she rebought herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *Taiatwala*'s descendants until lent about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *Omqomkilxka*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time (1923).

Qilliyaqlqx, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On rebuying herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nalalalakix, "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nalalxwimqilix, "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Lalilxwlxix, "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

Nawaxa'ax, "The Stingy One." It was said that this woman outwitted her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for parsimony. She publicly shamed

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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Nu'aos, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nuphätlsikän, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [606]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *nuuxk* or *kusiat*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *nuuxk*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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looked upon with contempt by her family, was yet determined that nothing she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she donated $300 to her ex-husband to rebuy herself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every ambitious woman. In *Tăl-ío* the custom prevails of depicting on the rocks the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all.

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch, his relatives-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to exert himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation at any gathering where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the inertness of the husband.

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband is a matter about which they can boast for the rest of their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage.

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556 A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer few greater
583 insults to his wife's relatives than omission to ask their assistance. The
578 following is a good instance of such an insult:
602 About 1900 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of *xlitatsum*, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have rebought her for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the *nusuk*. The father of the dead woman came forward uninvited with a large present for each, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not assisted for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This retort further incensed the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the donor of the potlatch $300 "to make clean where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

768 Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The de-
[586] cease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

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entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

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tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the *o'alk* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

(2) *A Patron, omätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ăno°likwolsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 824 825 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is *Smaien·a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await the coming of *Ălquntăm*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nəbusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noākxnum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former [785] [831] [787] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, several succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose [626] [776] patron was *Noākxnum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noākxnum* is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river [575] [796] the *kusiut* dances begin.

[184] [424] [551] It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village, as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only slight variations, if any. In *Tcimoil* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noākxnum* is a certain *Qaxelān·i*,[11] in Kimsquit, *Ălnskinmasam*,[12] and in *Skikiatl*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

[115] [426] [578] [11] Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaxelān·i*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[12] Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

if the latter agrees to undertake the commission, he must next obtain a slave, a matter of no difficulty if he is at all wealthy. An effort is made to find a victim from the tribe that has committed the murder, though any alien will suffice. The details are worked out with great care so that the slave is sent to the river for water, or on some other errand at the time the call comes to the Cannibal. A shout is raised, and the uninitiated hurriedly run out of the house, followed by the dancer and a body of athletic *kukusiut*, who pounce on the unsuspecting foreigner. The Cannibal cuts his throat, and the corpse is carried back to his house, where all members of the society are assembling. Part of the body is cut off, then the *kukusiut* accompany the Cannibal to every house of the village. He carries the mutilated remains, and the uninitiated readily believe that he has devoured the missing portion. The corpse is later dismembered and the bloody pieces displayed, convincing proof of the gruesome meal. It is needless to say that they are carefully buried where there is no danger that they will be found. The rite then proceeds in the usual manner.

If two biting Cannibals, or their parents, quarrel, they may be shamed into killing and "eating" a slave. Angry words lead to insults, insults to scorn at each other's prowess, until one of the Cannibals throws a stone at the feet of the other, an action which has the significance of:

"Eat that!"

Since a stone is always symbolic of a slave, the Cannibal so taunted knows what is expected. If he accepts the challenge, he throws a stone at his adversary's feet, bidding him do likewise. The one challenged soon receives a call and kills a slave in the manner previously described; his rival must do the same unless he is willing to admit himself outdone. The occasional killing of a slave under such circumstances does not give to either the right of doing so habitually. Of course the challenged individual is not bound to accept, but if he declines the "dare," he sinks in popular estimation. This

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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type of rivalry can be carried out only during the ceremonial season.

After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by *kukusiut*. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Xekalus*, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat. This name had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two individuals, *Qoliaohmq* of *Stuxt* and *Smmq* of the Kimsquit River. The following account of the origin of the latter's prerogative was obtained:

> Many years ago, soon after the first people came to this world, the ritual of the *kusiut* dances was much more exacting than it is at present. At that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such semi-supernatural powers that they were able to perform rites that people of the present day can represent only with the aid of carpenters' devices. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Smmq* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heartily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their conclusion was correct: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *kusiut* held a meeting at which it was decided that henceforth *kusiut* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transmitted to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

[The Scratch Dance]

They do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do most *kukusiut*.

The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely of their patrons.

On visiting a house where a *qethm* or *nəkusam* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Sne'olxulx Alquntăm*, one of the sons of *Alquntăm*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

The following account of the ritual was obtained from one of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher, *Alaxknaix*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Alaxknaix* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

[i.e., the Scratchers — ANALYST]

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[The Breaker Dance]

Isaix. X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *qotlum* and *nebusam* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the uninitiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *qotlum* or the preliminaries of *nebusam*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nebusam* evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, of *Sänoltxumulelts Älquntäm*, and of the four supernatural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Ano°likwolsaix* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most houses contain a number of stones which have been used in boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut* who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

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[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner.

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Syek*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *noltcista*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dirtia*.[1] *Syek* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qothm* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon-

[1] *Syek* and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "r." For example, he says "*Saulerí*," instead of "*Saulelí*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Drowning Dance]

*575 *796 for a rehearsal. The box is placed on top of the concealed opening; X enters it, raises the flap in the bottom, and opens the trap-door through which he squeezes into the space between the floor of the house and the ground beneath. The false body, clothed like himself, has been placed in readiness and X passes it up into the box which he has just left. Water is then poured in upon it and the movable section of bottom fits sufficiently tightly that none flows out. If everything is satisfactory, the box is returned to its owner for safe-keeping.

When the time for the ceremony comes, the senior *kukusiut* meet for a final rehearsal after the *qoθim* of a *kusiut*. Cases are remembered of intentional tampering with the box by some malicious individual, hence the necessity for careful testing. [578] The following night the call comes to X, and he goes to every house of the village with his cry:

"Please speak plainly; I will do what you want."

The ritual of the next four days is identical with that already described and the uninitiated keep wondering what is going to happen. If they should ask any *kusiut*, the answer given is:

"We don't quite understand what it is. Something dreadful has fallen upon X, but the details are not yet clear."

So the time passes until the night when X is to be drowned. As in other *kusiutem* dances, the uninitiated are guided to their places in inky darkness and sit there until the weird stillness and awe of it all has had time to take effect upon them. At last the fire is kindled and one of the marshals announces that X wants to borrow a large boiling box from so-and-so, naming the man to whom the prepared one has been entrusted. The owner says that he is willing to lend it and two *kukusiut* are sent to bring the receptacle. It is placed over the trap-door, and X circles the fire four times while the *kukusiut* beat time frenziedly with sticks. Suddenly he cries out:

"My patron bids me enter this box and have water poured upon me."

The *kukusiut* women drone out in fear and the dancer

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[The Mystery Dance]

with fatal results to his victims. The uninitiated listen and are impressed as *Ans'lîkwolsaix* confirms and supplements what has just been told them.

After a short pause, the announcer cries, *O*....., which serves as an invitation and precedes the appearance of every supernatural being. *Snuuq* emerges, a man clad in a bear-skin blanket covered with evergreen tufts, and wearing a mask of which the eyes can be made to swing open or shut by the pulling of concealed cords. The monster does not speak; merely circles the fire, terrifying the beholders by his ferocious expression. When the figure has withdrawn, the announcer explains the significance.

The next to appear is a Deer, *Sno'olxuls Alquntâm*, "The Foolish Son of *Alquntâm*." The skin and antlers of a real deer are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make the representation appear life-like. Two more performers with human masks follow, trying to catch the creature which frisks around the fire and avoids them by escaping back into the enclosure. The announcer informs the audience that this is no ordinary animal, it is a deer from the land above, the son of *Alquntâm*. This mischievous creature is said frequently to destroy the back-room in his father's house, hence it is a mild term of reproach to call a person *Sno'olxuls Alquntâm*.

After the usual delay comes the Varied Thrush, an actor with mask representing a bird. This is considered to be the finest bird songster; the Bella Coola say that all animals, including even mountain goats and halibut, gather to listen to its melody. The performer sings, then withdraws, and the announcer and *Ans'lîkwolsaix* explain who has just disappeared.

Next is Wolf, a man wearing a tail and the stuffed head of one of these animals. He circles the fire, howling like a wolf, the performer having been chosen for his ability to imitate that sound. The announcer tells the uninitiated that they have just seen a wolf from *Nuxalkmaixa*, and have listened to it howling for *Alquntâm*; as usual, *Ans'lîkwolsaix* confirms his

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

one is permitted to leave, and the uninitiated gaze in amazement as the seemingly endless rope continues to be drawn up through the roof, although the rattle itself can no longer be heard as if X had passed beyond earshot. They do not know that he has merely stepped from the ladder to the roof of the house, and thence to the ground, taking care to loop the cord over a projection so that he can continue drawing it out steadily. He has carefully practised rattling so that he can gradually lessen the intensity as if he were passing beyond ear-shot. One of the marshals describes the dangers to which X is exposed on his journey aloft, and calls on the *kukusiut* to sing his two songs to aid him. They are sung several times, but no others are used during the long night, nor are puppet-patrons employed as in *kusiotem* rites. The rope is being drawn from a large coil on the floor near the fire, and when the carpenters notice that it is nearly exhausted one of their number slips out to tell X to stop his climb. Presently, one or two yards of rope are quickly pulled through the hole in the roof and then all movement stops.

"He has jumped," cry the *kukusiut*.

A fluent *kusiut* explains to the uninitiated that the roof of the land above has opened before X's ever-lengthening ladder, that he has leapt from it to the ground above and tied his rope to something. On one occasion, a malicious rival cut the cable hoping that no one would notice the break, but luckily one of the watchful carpenters noticed it in time to knot the two ends. The *kukusiut* always explain that the rope is X's point of contact with the lower world, and that if it is severed, he cannot return. Accordingly, if the broken end had been drawn up through the roof, X could never have come back, and only his secret death would have served to maintain the reputation of the society.

The rope remains stationary for some time, and then is seen to be coming back through the aperture.

"X is returning," whisper the *kukusiut* to one another and the excitement becomes intense.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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with such powers that they killed one another in their performances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had been previously carried out.

There are other traditions, probably with an historical basis, describing conflicts with the *a'alk*. The Bella Coola say that long, long ago there were not enough *kusiut* names for more than the old people to be admitted to the society, and that though members were regarded as having supernatural powers, yet the *a'alk*, confident in their numbers and strength, used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *kukusiut*. On one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *a'alk* collected their weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *kukusiut*, furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals and Scratchers when frenzied. It is said that even recently if the *kukusiut* did not invite the *a'alk* to one of their dances, they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the food as a present.

Sometimes the *a'alk*, collectively, were bold enough to kill a *kusiut*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance house. Or other motives might be strong enough to outweigh respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief, who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife, who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his bear-spear and slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a frenzied rampage of the village. *Kukusiut*, both from that village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was a professional killer.

Success did not always come to the *kukusiut* in quarrels between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *a'alk* were invited to a *qothm* in a village in the upper Bella Coola valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they

2: McDougall E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
MSS McDougall MSS

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accepted the invitation. The house was so crowded that the uninitiated in front were driven forwards by pressure from the rear until they encroached on the space behind the fire. An elderly *haxtsa* decided that this was a good occasion to frighten the visitors, so he whispered to a recently admitted member of the society:

"You fall down, and I will explain that it is because you have attracted to yourself the spirit of an uninitiated person."

Under most circumstances this would have startled the uninitiated, as indeed it did the majority. But the leader of the *o'alk*, perhaps excited by the dance in which he had just taken part, refused to be impressed. He knew that the *haxtsa* would threaten to throw the spirit of the offender into the fire, irrevocably compelling the owner to follow it, but he was not afraid.

"Let us see your powers," he said. "Go ahead with your throwing of a spirit into the fire."

The *haxtsa* responsible for the scheme knew that it must be carried out, and only hoped that, as the spirit was about to be burnt, the owner would offer to pay for its return, as usually happened in such cases. He interrupted the fallen *haxtsa* to ground and the latter rose, fumbled at the back of his neck, as if drawing something forth, and thrust the "something" into the fire. Breathless with fear, the uninitiated waited for someone to be forced into the flames. But nothing happened. It was a dangerous situation for the *haxtsa*, and as the only means of maintaining their reputation, they began to whisper that the man must have accidentally extracted his own spirit instead of the alien one. The bewilds repeated what was being said, and the guests watched to see what would happen. The unfortunate *haxtsa* was surrounded by a group of his fellows and thrust into the fire, although their acting was sufficiently good to make it appear that they were trying to check him. By these drastic means the *haxtsa* were able to add to the prestige of their society, though it is said that the *o'alk* leader

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WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

expressed the opinion that the whole affair was a stupid blunder.

The Bella Coola were then long, long ago the usual outcome of friction between cult and hitherto was the incorporation of members of the former society into the latter like any other uninitiated. The following account of an incident of this kind was obtained from a Kimsquit man who regarded it as historically accurate.

Some two hundred years after the first settlement of this myth, the members of the two societies used to live amicably together during the summer, which was not surprising considering that both contained members of the same families. But during the winter the hitherto all gathered to a village on the Dean River for their dances, while the cult also gathered at the same season to the village of Tsaltalk, opposite the present Hunlen Cannery below Kimsquit.[1] There was considerable jealousy between the two organizations, and the members were always seeking an opportunity to divide and ridicule their rivals. A Comedian dance had been given by the hitherto and the cult, who were present as entertained guests, had mocked with wonder the disappearance of the performers into the mysterious cubby above. But a few days later, Tsimmelkin, a chief and leader in one of the cult dances, happened to be in a lonely part of the forest where he was amazed to meet the Comedian. The latter, confident of his supernatural power, spoke:

'In awaiting me today you have not changed, you will soon be a corpse.'

Tsimmelkin, a middle-aged man of powerful physique, was not impressed by the other's powers, whether physical or supernatural.

'Why,' he answered, 'it is you who have taken my trouble. You are old and feeble and if you try to injure me I will be no more for you.'

'My age has nothing to do with it,' answered the Comedian. 'You have not met me well with me.'

At this juncture one of the Comedian's guardian companions appeared, but Tsimmelkin still did not flee because they were both old and unarmed, whereas he had no one. But when two more hitherto appeared,

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[1] The Kimsquit informants stated that long ago a similar segregation of cult and hitherto into separate bush places in Bella Coola. Bella Coola informants knew nothing of this. The migration of the hitherto from Dean to which Dean dances are taking place leads to a division of the village, and it is easy to understand how one section could have been erected without interference. This would hardly explain the a separation into two villages and an explanation for the existence is offered.

he heard was above, knowing that the odds were too great for him. The Cannibal realized that if this powerful man could be betrayed into their society he would be a source of strength, so he said:

"You are now an initiate of mine."

Kawandaka understood that this meant he was to be initiated into the Ravine society. He agreed, but asked to be permitted to complete the s'alk dance which he was performing that evening, and to get building sticks for which he had gone to the forest. The Cannibal were only too willing to grant this dispensation in their joy at having a valuable recruit.

On the return to the village, Kawandaka told his fellow s'alk that he was going to be a Ravine and they were greatly grieved at loss of their leader. That night they gave the dance which had been started and composed a song of which the theme was the way in which their rivals had fallen until their heads were upside down. The Cannibal, excited at this song, heard that this was a prelude to further combat with the s'alk, but Kawandaka duly carried out his promise and was enrolled as a Ravine. Much of their leader, many of the Ravine members were educated as believers, and soon also that they have been elaborate duels (?) between the two societies. In the event the Cannibal gave the dance with a song indicating how he had won a strange contest over others he had prevailed, this was, of course, the sentiment the s'alk[illegible]

To these can be attributed the origin of the practice of dancing to decide priority of invitation giving. It is said that both Kawandaka and the Cannibal were invited to invite the people to a ceremony on the same evening and agreed to dance against each other to decide which should have preference. Kawandaka prevailed, and the Cannibal duly postponed his dance and went with his associates to the winner's house.

So before ended, stories of the time dealing with the origin history of the society are of slight value. So far as they go, they agree with other evidence pointing to the gradual growth of the Ravine society from a band of elders endowed with supernatural power to a society with everyone member, dominating the life of the community and entirely overshadowing the s'alk who seem now to have been their rivals.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

9 [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible] | I am giving food | [illegible]

[illegible]

6 [illegible]

[illegible]

(a) Recorded as song 7(1) 9 28b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Hallock. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an unbroken family, and is regarded as a family possession and would consider to use by others in its reciting.

(b) Many years ago a whitney Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the name of one, so that his band assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The receiving of foreigners is a common theme of a'alt songs.

[illegible]

[illegible]

6 [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible]!

[illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible].

[illegible]

6 and 8. The seventh and final parts have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song 7(1) 9 3c, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Hallock.

(b) A meaningless [illegible] chorus used in a'alt songs describing the [illegible].

(c) A mountain goat on [illegible] who is said to have seen a Canadian [illegible] when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the dance-drama has been remembered for many years. A mountain goat was screamed into the [illegible] country, see vol. II, p. 260.

9 In already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women wear a peculiar high-pitched drone and the humble call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either sound or a'alt dancer. The following words are virtually sung:

[illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible].

[illegible] (a) Recorded as song 7(1) 9 3b, National Museum of Canada.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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(a) Recorded as song VII D 8c, National Museum of Canada, singer, Louis Hall.
(b) Presumably a reference to *Hailiyaxus*, the dancer's *tutelal spirit*(?).
(c) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "dust."
(d) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
A. Those used at weddings;
B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce cases.
The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

Wedding songs

Once Marriage Song(a)

[illegible] Danced for joy	[illegible] [illegible](b)	[illegible] where they brought
[illegible] the girl	[illegible] from the place of light(c).	

(a) Recorded as song VII D 8b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Lame Charlie.
(b) *Qaikiyu* came down with *xnyaqoot* in the beginning of time, and brought, as a gift from *Hiyaxnus*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at *Kimsquit*, and an explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of there.
(c) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Qaikiyu*'s companions married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

Kimsquit Marriage Song(a)

[illegible] They were down	[illegible] *Kimsquit*(b)	[illegible] with his relatives
[illegible] *Qaikiyu* (*Alc*).		

(a) Recorded as song VII D 8b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard.

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NEA Bellecoola NEA

(2) *Kumsiła* came down from above with *sɨyaqsyut* in the beginning of time, to had the prerogative of dancing at weddings.
(3) *Kɨmlɨya Hlawɨsa* came down with *sɨyaqsyut*, bringing the same prerogative as *Kumsiła*.
(4) The rest of this song has been forgotten.

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[1]

DANCING SONGS

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *Lamal* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions.

Song Used for Recapture(1), a Kɨmsquit Woman(2)

1. Probably
Has run away | *dalɨwa* | *Mɨxɨdɨs* | *ɨdlaɨnɨsa* | *dɨmɨdɨsɨyɨs's*
Gone | *Mɨxɨdɨs(3)* | Further, | he has taken with her

tsɨlɨmɨdɨs-ɨlɨmɨsɨ
my child, *Tsɨlɨmɨdɨs(4)*, | *dɨmɨdɨsɨyɨs's*
he has taken with her(5).

(REPEAT AS DESIRED)

2. *Gwɨdɨlɨdɨsɨ*
He knows, | *ɨsɨdɨs-ɨlɨmɨsɨ*
mother(6), | *dɨs dɨlɨmɨsɨ*
when I speak of your sister(7),

ɨlɨdɨlɨdɨsɨmɨsɨ
you have had much trouble, | *ɨsɨmɨs-ɨlɨdɨsɨ-ɨlɨmɨsɨ*
your breasts have become long and pendent.

(REPEAT AS DESIRED)

3. The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(1) This word means "She ran (feminine) with the very large goldeneye." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred on this occasion by Hɨlɨpɨdɨsɨ etc.

[1] Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII-D-3a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII-D-3c, National Museum of Canada, singer, Louis Charlie.

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(d) Recorded as song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(e) That is: Mumlo has loved you much. He was the seducer of Nujume.

(f) This ancestral name is one of the designations of Mount Nuyakin.

(g) This repetition merely adds force to the complaint of the aggrieved husband. It was impossible to obtain an accurate translation of such subdivisions.

(h) Referring to all women in general.

(i) In this second part, the theme changes from the specific picture of the aggrieved husband to his condemnation and criticism of the whole female sex. Such conclusions are common to shaming songs, and are often accompanied by a change of tune.

Song 72 of [illegible], a Kwagiutl dance(d)

a Qlexalala Being grocery-carriers(j)	qlexsalalaxsasa has come to this one

[illegible]
Nuhitsi(k),

[illegible]

b Qlelqayaxsdzas All the foul expressions used by men are applicable to(l)	qaqalitsdzi the crippled

[illegible]
Sitka(l).

[illegible]

c The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) This song was sung by women to shame Nuhitsi who had deserted his wife. It was the work of a feminine composer, Nuyume.

(b) Recorded as song VIII D 10b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) It was impossible to obtain translations of such subdivisions.

(d) This nickname is picked upon to a shaming song. Nuhitsi must have failed to perform some of any kind, and the feminine members chose to deride him for this neglect of his faithlessness.

(e) It was impossible to obtain translations of such subdivisions.

(f) Sitka was one of the regular Kwagiutl singers who had shown objection to such acts in the insertion of obscene sex remarks in songs used by men to deride feminine women. The women apparently considered this a good opportunity to voice their general disapproval by coupling his name with that of Nuhitsi. Sitka had suffered a broken arm when fighting and it had been badly set.

Song 73 of [illegible], a Kwagiutl [illegible]

a Nuyaqaxsqalalaxsasa He can talk too much to a proud woman(m),	qlexsalaxsasa then,

ax̱ nuxwal'axwsdaxtxa you are the *jing* of misfortune,	*xi nuxlit'aaxwsdzi* you conceived mother,	*xaax tlaqilyaxa* you are spiteful, ow-	533* 576
xaxd'lilyx ya ḵuxsi who pretend to be virtuous(s).	*Ánina* Aha!(?)	*Yuxwsda* I am ashamed,	*xaaxsda* I am (hang).	578

(REFRAIN ONCE)

3 *Qaaxwsdzi xlaxlitdaa* Exactly similar	*dzdxdzlitdzi ḵaḵaxa* to the little boy's nose	*yax xlitxwsdzi-at-a*[a] so that of the round-headed
xlaxyaqdzdzlitdzi (plural(s)).	*Ánina* Aha!	*Yuxwsda* I am ashamed,	*xaaxsda* I am (hang).

(REFRAIN ONCE)

c The third part, if it was existed, has been forgotten.

(a) This differs from most Bella Coola songs in that Qua was an unmarried mother, not a faithless wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Kimsquit and this song composed for her by a certain Xix-yaax. [546]

(b) Recorded on wax 578 (N.No. Provincial Museum of Canada, stages, Jim Bellrose).

(c) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral honors. [554]

(d) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]

(e) This is addressed to women in general. [192]

(f) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances.

(g) The theme is here changed as if it were Qua herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(h) Qaaxwsdzi was supposed to be the father of Qua's child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 533* [765] [764]

Song Used for Qaaxi when Mourning his Son, (Kwmaxis)

1 *Ḵaaxsdza* | *xaxlitdzdzaxwa* | *Ḵdzdzaqwaxa* | *xaxdzdzdzaxi*
Why has my son been sold? Come, ye who are members of foreign tribe(s)

2: McDermith E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NE6

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This is the type of song sung by a group of women on a picnic.
(b) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(c) This is addressed to another town.

[illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Qaloot was a man who specialized in composing songs that ridiculed women. Some the singer said the name in this derogatory manner to contribute.
(c) The implication is that her lover sang these insulting her love, and that she did not want him to touch her body. The three parts of this song have no apparent relationship to one another.
(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The introduction of the obscene expression is unexplained.
(e) Referring to her lover.

[illegible]

[illegible]

This song is sung by boys as they count for sweat.

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 648 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless, [794] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were [554] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and 726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who 825 have an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them- 778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever [779] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter [578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling [677] a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.

721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was [575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were [622] not entirely forgotten; no *Initiat* novice went to war and

[1] Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

526 [172]

in former times. *Skíse* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played.

526 525

A game with somewhat similar rules is *xqudsiáē*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun.

[785] [354] [628]

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were contested amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting.

[578]

526

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy.

857

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*192

Xalxaxaxwe: The charm that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.

Xaxa: First ceremonial discharge.

Xaxlo: sammy village.

Xeka: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.

[952] **Xelxekaxaz**: Shaman who received power from ghosts.

Xemkwaskuxw: Bella Coola hunter.

*[108] **Xemplaut**, "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized *Kimquit* has been derived.

Xenkut: Nass River.

Xenkut: Kimquit was mentioned in an ancient story.

[835] **Xetx**: 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a Tsi'is woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.

Xixt'umut: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential Kimquit chief, who died about 1910.

[82-] **Xo'o**: Hudson.

[824] **Xoli**: White fir (?).

Xoxo'o: Herring.

xoxulyut: Propagation of living oneself.

Xpaxt: Dried salmon.

xpaxuljut: Synonym for *xtalile*: one of the dues of a potlatch, probably that fol. leaving the appearance of exalted representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *Xpaxt*.

[82-] **Xsbalalkaw**: Porpoise.

[84-] **Xsbaxlkaw**: Supernatural being who behaves in an erratic manner.

Xs'ia: Term whose birth is attributed to salmon.

[824] **Xs'ialaxz**: Was mentioned in an ancient story.

Xsbalkaw: Unidentified harpy (*xsvaxlaxv'a*).

Xsbaxw: Supernatural female shaman who guarded *P'ixaxlaw*.

Xsl'axyalaxz: Ancient name of a Bella Coola Councilor.

Xsbal'kaw, "Earthy Ones": Ghosts.

Xsbalkaw: Land, region, earth.

[539] **Xsbalx**: Dress part of wrap.

Xsmal: Twelve mountain sheep furry orbs on the Bella Coola valley.

[825] **Xsqaxtsmaxsdaitx**, "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural eater of salmon eyeballs.

[765] **Xsxaxlaxw**: Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when an impersonation of the deceased has been employed.

[878] **Xsxaxlaxz**: Goods offered to foreigners on gathering concerning their summons or feast.

[60-] **Xsxaxlkaxz** or **Xsxaxlxaxlaxz**: Synonym for *Xsbalkaxz*, [illegible] spirits?

[42-] **Xsxaxwaxlaxz**: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.

Xsxlpal, **xsxulax**, **Xsxlpal**: Grandfather.

[601] **Xsxlxaxlaxz**: Ritual ceremonial at which foreigners are present.

Xulax: The construction of salmon weirs.

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*This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic + sound.

APPENDIX D

Nuxnite-ewq, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.
nuxnitsmaas: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige.
Pasis: 1—Bames district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, adjective.
Pasqulaq: Tsi'is kind hunter.
Pasqumala: 1—One of the first men to settle at Tsi'is in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ayaklaal* in the beginning of time.
3—Bell of the sorcerer which, when broken, released the sun.
Pasqumalaas-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Ayaklaal* in the beginning of time.
Pasway: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barracuda", Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nuxs'ijlaas: Supernatural, evilness term.
nuxsnaxt-at nuxsnaxs: The consumption of a curse upon earth.
nuxsnaxtsqalis, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage.
nuxsnaxtsus: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
nuxsnitlaxsus: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine.
nuxsnitlus: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient.
Nuxsnukwa': Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nuxtaw: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nuxti, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nuxtsqaynaw: Alteration of a dance from crazed to frenzied.
nuxtsitsus: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
nuxtsitsuwaxsa, "I Drying Up with Fire": Expression used by the sweetness held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband.
nuxtsitsuwas: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion.
Nuxtsu, "Place Where There Are No Fish": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nuxtsqal: Female guis of the first settlers at *Nuxtsiyis* in the beginning of time.
nuxtsuxalis: Powers of curses.
nuxtsyaxsus: Well.
Nuxtsiskwaxs: Mythical house in the sky.
Nuxtsuxsalis: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nuxwakuts: Powers, invisible to all but the seers, given by *Nuxsqaltlaxa-a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nuxtsitsus*.
nuxwaynaxs: A creature of non-human nature, such as a manifestation by a shaman, or on the roll of a mighty chief.
nuxwaxsalus: Supreme rite to which the performer proceeds to confirm his powers.
nuxwaxsaxs: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to furnish by a person splashed in River dance.
2—Presents given by guests or a potlatch to their host and his agent.
nuxwaxsus, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who gazes upon the body upon used to perform coastal deformation to an infant.
Nuxyaaxsh, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nuxyalaxsus: Earlier name of a Tsimshian area.

APPENDIX D

[492*]
[787]
[824]
[60]

adder: Omen of death, generic term.
adder: One of the boring, gradually employed.
amet, mealie, ginner: Mother, term used by child.
Apostolos: Celebrated Carrier chief.
Arnee: 1—Village on west bank of the Nechesaramoney, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea.
2—Mountain behind the village.
Arnee-pantaloon: and life's name of a Kinnaird man.
arnee-tanda, mealie, ginnee-tanda: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the crucial following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by enemy to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [11]
Arnee, "Rope Fannings," i.e., something binding. The function of the "Red Covering" and other protective gross with a web which bind her to her husband. [585] [431]
Ass-Sala: Unidentified species of shark.
Assumanda: Kindred term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being. [825]
Atanee: Ancient name of a Dene man.
Ba-yunah: coming chief living man after the beginning of time.
Bayrd'ah: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dene River in the beginning of time.
Belin: Carrier pronunciation of Evelyn, one of the first men to settle on the upper Dene in the beginning of time.
Bilbeen: Hunter with ability to produce a puppet-person, of wonderment.
Bilbeen: Dene chief.
Bilbeen: Dene man-eating.
Bird: Dene chief. [815]
Bird: Bubble. [825]
Bird: Salmon berry. [826]
Blackmouth: One of the first men to settle on Salmon Pass in the beginning of time.
Blanket: Unidentified plant. [825]
Blanket: Black rock
Bolt, "A Weaving of the Dene upon the Ground of Death": Term applied to a death [570]
[914]
Bonnie: White woman.
Bonnie: 1—Village on west side of South Nechesaramoney Arm.
2—Island off Dene Inlet.
3—Island.
Bow-woman: One of the women of Dene as chief.
Bird: 1—One of the first men to settle on Dene in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on Dene in the beginning of time. [825]
Bird: Unidentified vegetative fish, black in color.
Bubbler: Peaceful River near Belle Belle.
Bubbler: One of the chief deaths.
Bubbler, "Death": Dene supernatural created from part of a supernatural creature. [577]
Bubbler-Bubbler-Bubbler: A verbal expression of what should have occurred immediately with an interjection upon the dying moment of a person whose life at this moment has been ordered over by Great giving. [431]
Bubbler: Property distributed by a wife to strangers for husband's use, and that persons life from "wedding." [556]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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[765] *ámaxus*: 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Ámaxus ze-k*, "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

ámaxuxúlaxuix: Professional *haxíat* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Laitsúdz-a* during *haxíatsm* dances.

ámaxúsx: Name.

Ámaxúx: *Haxíat* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *Áte-kl*: Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

[252] *ats*: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

atsáq'i: Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

[554] *atsúxtsi*: Many, *adjective*.

atsuxtsíjut, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Áu: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *aúk*: Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

[978] *ámaxus*, *nuxáitx*, *ámaxúsx*: Grandchild, the reciprocal indicates endearment.

ámaxuxsis: The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

ák-a: Gull bladder.

ákpúsx: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a sacred whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mútsúlis*.

ákuk: Chicken grouse.

Álaxkwaúlq: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[978] 2—Place of purified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

Álálus: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

álámxtx: The voice.

[824] *álánuk*: Dried *sásk'ámxtsm*.

álcháuls: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
[821] 2—Bella Coola woman.

álelqum: Eclipse.

álemxnálás: 1—One who keeps in touch with a transmitted Cannibal.
[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *haxíat* or sacred dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Áwáxálás: One of the names of the supreme god.

Áwáxálás: One of the names of the supreme god.

Áwáxúx: 1—Synonym for *Álaxkwaúlq*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *ayúlxúlx*: A preparation, such as a myth or a prerogative, connecting some sub-ordinate part, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

axáxáxáxáqs: Debris from sieve eaten by squirrels.

Áxemux, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Áxemúxúl: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

axsúl-aq, *nuxáitx*, *xsúl-aqs*: Friends.

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[824] **ayuklp**: Cedar roots.
ayut: Sling.
ayutlaiken: To use a sling.
[578] **ayik**: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] **ayingmas**: Fleecy cloud.
[412] **ayuks**: Mythic-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
ayuus: Wooden comb.
Ayu's: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Ayuxd*.
ats: Umbilical hernia.
[601] **atsalyuus**: Distant relatives of female sex, when referred to by men.
atsilaiken: Long phallus.
Ayuxd: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
apsus: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
apsuxly: Food distributed for carrying away as apsus.
[415] **apulx**: Large, flat, soft basket of bread strips of bark.
[431] **aqtuxy**: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[824] **aqwis**: Maple.
aqwus: Sudden start that expels the spirit.
aqwuxsid: Outer plank of cedar, canvas and bark covered on one side.
aqwul: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
aqwulem: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium*.
[539] **aqwulxwulem**: 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
[925] 2—Singers who use this type of composition.
aqwul'ens: Large, unidentified bird.
[974] **Aqwulkilaw**: Hero: A supernatural being.
[82] **Aqwuli**: Ancient name of a Bella Coola man.
aqwu'us: Loss.
[262] **aqwul'ik**: Mountain goat enemies, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
Asaqlaxwem, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Five Sticks": A folk name abstracted to the beginning of time.
asaltmay, plural, **asaltmayt**; counter plural, **asaltlimay**:
1—Chief.
2—One of the four men to settle at *Ayuxd* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the four men to settle at *Ayuxd* in the beginning of time.
4—Name assumed by *Snaxaus* for a grandson.
5—A small canoe of a Kitamaat type.
[601] **asas**: Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[925] **asaskaxus**: Bat.
asaskaxus: Step-mother, the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] **asasmayuus**: Elderly female relatives of the same numerical family as the speaker.
[614] **Asasta**: Whetstone.
Asasta: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] **Asaq'i**: Mountain near Talio.
asaqlem, "What Is Hidden": The secret selection of the Mystery dance.
asaqlemayus: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] **Asas**: Cranberry.